A SERMON

Preached *July* 17. 1676.

IN THE

Cathedral Church of St. *Peter* in *York*,

Before the Right Honourable,

Sir *FRANCIS NORTH*,

Lord Chief Justice of the Common PLEAS;

And the Honourable,

VERE BERTIE Esquire,

One of the Barons of the EXCHEQUER;

His MAJESTIES

JUDGES of Assize for the Northern Circuit.

BY

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT D. D.

And DEAN of *Ripon*,

Chaplain in Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

In the *SAVOY*:

Printed by *THO. NEWCOMB*, 1676.

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COIL. REG. OXON. BIBL.

To the Right Worſhipful,

Sir EDMUND JENNINGS Knight,

High Sheriff of the County of YORK.

SIR,

AS *I owe you my Thanks for the* Honour *you did me, in thinking me worthy to be imployed in ſo* Publick a Service, *as* that *to which this Diſcourſe relates; ſo I think it would be more than a* Venial Sin *to offer ſuch a violence to Gratitude, as to* decline your Commands *for the Publication of it. I will not therefore uſe any thing which may look like an* Excuſe, *but inſtantly ſhew how inclinable I am to* prefer your Judgment *before my own; and beg leave to* prefix your Name *before that, which the Nature of the* Subject, *no leſs than the Obligations of the* Preacher *have made wholly* yours. *The chief deſign of the* Sermon *was to convince them that heard it, that our greateſt* Secu-

rity *under Heaven is the Wisdom of our* Laws, *the vigorous* Execution *whereof, would remove those manifold Mischiefs, which the* Relaxation *of them hath bred, and will cherish among us. Your* Eminent Loyalty *is such, that I have good reason to believe you love the* Sermon *for the* Subjects sake; *and if there be not also a Power in* your Judgment *to oblige others to have a* good opinion *of it, I shall account my self* strong enough *to abide their Censures, whilst I have* you on my side; *and endeavour to make my self the more* valuable *in the World by* your Friendship; *with the continuation whereof you can Honour none who puts a greater value upon it, and who is more sincerely, than I am,*

SIR,

Your most obliged and

humble Servant,

THO. CARTWRIGHT.

Ripon, Aug. 7. 1676.

Judges 17. 6.

In those days there was no King in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

THe first and great Reason of *Humane Laws and Dominion*, is a Prevision that *all men* will not be a *Law unto themselves*, so as to do their Duty for love or fear of God; and therefore though there be *Judgments to come* in the next Life, denounced against all Crimes committed in this, yet did God in the very Infancy of the World make an *Edict for Magistracy*: so that the *Civil Power* doth derive its *Pedigree from Heaven*, and is a part of the Government over Mankind, in which God useth the Ministry of Angels, and the service of Men; and it hath accordingly in all Ages been found absolutely *necessary* for the preservation of *Community*, *Peace* and *Piety*, not to leave persons to terrours at such a distance as are those of Christs second coming to judge the World in Righteousness, but to put the

the *Sword of Vengeance* into *one Mans hand* here on Earth for the benefit of all; becauſe if Men ſhould be let looſe to their licentious freedom, wickedneſs would increaſe among them even to cruelty; nor would *Good Men* have any better ſecurity than *Lambs* in a Foreſt of many *Wolves*, if there were not ſome *preſent reſtraints* for ſuch exorbitant Offenders, whom the determents of the *Life to come* could not over-rule into ſubjection, that they might at leaſt *obey for wrath, if not for Conſcience ſake.*

We are like *Children in their Minority*, not fit to be truſted to our own conduct, but to be *ſecured* at the publick charge of our *Superiours*, to whom next under God and his good Angels we are moſt beholding for our ſafety. Our *Breath of our Noſtrils* is not more neceſſary for our *being*, than our *Princes Sovereignty* is to our *well-being*; for were he not armed with Authority to overpower Evil doers, the Purſe-proud-man would oppreſs the Poor, the Crafty circumvent the Simple, the weaker party be continually expoſed to the ſpoil and rapine of the ſtronger, and we proſtituted to the exorbitant Luſt of every turbulent and domineering Spirit who could prevail to lord it over us.

From hence we may eaſily conclude, That thoſe

thoſe *days muſt needs be evil*, wherein the Civil Government is Unhinged, when the ancient and unqueſtionable Sovereignty over any People is cut off; of which ſad ſpectacle your Eyes and mine have been deploring Witneſſes. For what *Iſaias* foretold, was fulfilled in theſe days, *The People were oppreſſed every one by another,* Iſai. 3.5. *and every one by his Neighbour; the Child did behave himſelf proudly againſt the Ancient, and the Baſe againſt the Honourable:* When there was *No King in Iſrael*, every one was *more than a King* to himſelf, which is the greateſt Judgment that can befal a Rebellious People in this World. For better *any one a King*, than *every one a King*; and yet every one is *more than a King*, if he may *do* without controul what is *right in his own Eyes*; and therefore we are the moſt Ingrateful Wretches in the World, and fit to be condemned to ſuch *repeated Confuſions*, if we do not bleſs God, both with our Lips and in our Lives, for the *Re-eſtabliſhment of that Regal Authority*, to which we ſo evidently owe the preſervation of our *Order*, our *Peace*, and our *Religion*; and indeed of *every other good thing* which is and ought to be dear unto us.

Moſes was the *firſt King in Iſrael*, and when he abſented himſelf from the People but for forty

forty days, they *Calv'd themſelves* a Molten Image, and became ſuch *Beaſtly Idolaters* as to fall down and worſhip it. Their *new faſhion in Religion*, which they took up in his abſence, (as ridiculous as it was) was quickly *followed by the Crowd*; and their *God of Gold* (though but a Calf indeed) did not long want *Worſhippers*.

His next immediate Succeſſor was *Joſhua*, and as ſoon as he was dead, *Micha* and his old doating Mother *made them both Gods and Prieſts*; and from what occaſion theſe abominable Diſorders ſprang, my Text tells you, the true reaſon was, *There was no King in Iſrael*, none to prohibite or puniſh ſuch Prophanations; and ſo bleſs God or blaſpheme him, be of *any* or *no Religion*, come to Church or ſtay at home; follow any Seducer, though never ſo dangerous; embrace any Hereſie, though never ſo damnable; or eſpouſe any Faction, though never ſo deſperate and ſeditious; turn Idolaters, or commit Sacriledge; every Man may do what he liſts, when there is no Publick Magiſtrate to call him to an account for it.

Thrice more we read in holy Scripture this Burden of the ſame Lamentation repeated, that *There was no King in Iſrael*; and this upon no leſs *occaſions* than *Idolatry and abominable Luſts*, and with no leſs pernicious conſequences and effects than *Diſorder and Diſſolution*. 1. When

1. When there was no King in *Iſrael*, who is εἰκὼν ἔμψυχος Θεοῦ, the living Image of God, the *Tribe of Dan* will have a dead Idol, they *break into Micha's Houſe*, rob him of his Prieſt and and conſecrated things; and if you inquire how ſuch *Sacriledge*, *Idolatry*, *Felony* and *Burglary* could eſcape their deſerved puniſhment? 'Tis fully anſwered, *That there was no King in* Judg. 18. 1 *Iſrael*, no *Heir of Reſtraint*, (for ſo the King is called Verſ. 7. of that Chapter) becauſe He by his Inheritance is obliged to curb and reſtrain all headſtrong Impieties, and to caſt up Boundaries againſt ſuch overflowing Iniquities.

2. At another time we read of an *horrible Rape* committed, a Woman violently and ſhamefully abuſed by the extravagant Luſt of barbarous Ruffians, and the Spirit of God renders this alſo for the reaſon of that *violent Uncleanneſs* of *Gibeah*, That *there was no King in Iſrael.*

3. Laſtly, The *Men of Benjamin* became the bold Champions of *Gibeah's Lewdneſs*; and being fleſh'd with the double ſucceſs of their evil cauſe, they perſiſted in their Villany, till all but ſix hundred were deſtroyed. Theſe *ſurprized the Virgins dancing at Shiloth*, raviſh'd them away by violence from their Parents, and *en-*

forced them to Marriage; of which *Rape* and *Riot* the reaſon rendred is the ſame as it was of the former, *In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael.*

Judg. 21. 23,25.

So that my Text, you ſee, is no *ſingle inſtance*, no *particular*, *ſtrange*, *caſual*, or *accidental Emergence*; but *as it was in the beginning*, ſo it *hath been* ever ſince, and *will be* undoubtedly *to the Worlds end*; *Where there is no King* (that is, *no ordinary Judge or Governour*, as the word is elſewhere taken) *every one will do that which is right in his own eyes.*

Gen.36.3. Deut.33.5

My Text is made up of *Confuſion*, *Anarchy*, and the *ſad Effects* of it divide it and the World; nor can you expect any *perfect Method* in the proſecution of ſuch Diſorders, wherein we are concerned to take notice of theſe three Particulars:

I. The *Tragical Antecedent*, wherein the *great cauſe of Iſraels Miſeries*, and from what remarkably *fatal time* they bore date, is recorded; *In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael.*

II. The *Terrible Conſequent*, or *Iſraels* diſmal condition without their King; *Every one did that which was right in their own Eyes.*

III. The

III. The *Infallible Connexion between that Cauſe and this Effect*; the one is ſo intail'd upon the other, that there is but an intermediate *Comma*, hardly a breathing ſpace, between the loſs of a King and Licentiouſneſs:

Which makes the words by a clear *Epiphonema* to declare the *great Benefit* of a Legitimate King in *Iſrael*, the *Neceſſity of Laws*, and the *Happineſs* of thoſe People, who live under ſuch a Government as takes an impartial care of their execution, which will bring the Text home from the *Jews* to the *Gentiles*, from thoſe in *Iſrael* to us in *England*.

Now the worſt beginning that any Men living ever made, was, when we of this Nation began to be a weary of our *Late Martyr'd Sovereign*, that being the *fatal time* from whence we may experimentally derive the *Original Cauſe* of all ours, as the Holy Spirit hath here done of *Iſraels* Miſeries; which I therefore term,

1. The *Tragical Antecedent: In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael.* After *Sampſon*'s death, there was an *Inter-regnum*, not under *Othoniel*, but between *Sampſon*'s and *Eli*'s Government, (to which *Druſius* and *Tremellius*

think this inſtance relates.) Others ſay there was no Supream and continual ordinary Magiſtrate over the whole body of the People; for the Judges were extraordinary, raiſed at Gods pleaſure over a part of the People, and without
Judg.2.17 abſolute Authority; and therefore the People would not hearken unto them, becauſe their Power was only of Direction, not of Dominion; they could counſel, but not correct them: There were at that time many Task-maſters over *Iſrael*, but no King in it.

Now the King is of as publick and univerſal Influence in his Dominions, as is the Sun in the Firmament, He being the Publick Ballancer of each Private Intereſt, with which he is intruſted as the proper Guardian of Equity and Juſtice, *Cuſtos utriuſque Tabulæ*, to whoſe Sacred Cuſtody God hath committed the Two Tables of the Law, and intruſted Him to ſee that we live ſoberly among our ſelves, religiouſly towards God, and righteouſly towards our Neighbours.

Martial. l.8. Epigr. 65. *Rerum prima Salus & una Cæſar.*

He is the principal Pillar upon which the Streſs of his Kingdom lies; and as the King doth not live *Sibi, ſed Populo*, ſo neither doth He

He die to his own, but to their diſadvantage; and though ten thouſand others might ſteal out of the World and no body mind or miſs them, yet the *Loſs of Him* will be as ſoon felt, as the plucking up of a ſubſtantial Stake out of a rotten Hedge, or the removal of a Buttreſs from a declining Wall. And when this *Tutelar Angel of a Kingdom* is recall'd, 'tis time for the Inhabitants to tremble, for fear of the *Deſtroying Angel*'s coming among them. A King will be ſuddenly and ſoundly miſs'd, not only in *Edom* but in *Iſrael*, which will quickly turn to a *Babel* without him, in as much as that very Law by which we hold our Lives and Liberties will be but a *Dead Letter*, unleſs it have *his Authority* to actuate and enliven it. For let the Rule be never ſo ſtrait and perfect, it meaſureth nothing out of his Hand who hath skill to uſe it; and when the *Law* hath defined what is Right or Wrong, there will want a *Judge* to ſentence for the *Plaintiff* or *Defendant*; and let the *Directive Power* of the Law be never *ſo good*, it muſt of neceſſity fall to the ground, if there be not *a co-active* to aſſiſt it.

Libertas Libertate Perit, to live as we pleaſe would be the ready way to loſe our Liberty, and undo our ſelves. Tyranny it ſelf were in-

finitely

finitely more tolerable than ſuch an unbridled Liberty. For that like a *Tempeſt* might throw down here and there a fruitful Tree, but this like a *Deluge* would ſweep away all before it: and *Confuſion* hath ever been found ſo much worſe than the *hardeſt Subjection*, and even the *moſt corrupt Government* ſo much better than a *Civil War*, that it was over-ruled in *Nerva*'s time by *Fronto* the Conſul, *Melius eſt ſub his eſſe, ſub quibus nihil licet, quam ſub quibus omnia:* That it is better to live under the *ſevereſt Prince*, where every *Suſpicion* is made a *Crime*, and every Crime *Capital*, than to have *none* at all but a lawleſs Anarchy. And therefore the want of a King of which *Iſrael* ſo much complains, is a *complicated Miſchief*, involving many thouſand Evils in it, and ſuch as are not to be calculated by any ſingle perſon, but we muſt all lay our heads together to ſum them up; which that we may the better do, I proceed to examine that particular account, which the ſecond part of my Text gives of them, *viz.*

Cardan. Encom. Neron. c. 5

II. The *Terrible Conſequent*, or *Iſraels* miſerable condition without their King, in as much as *every one did that which was right in his own Eyes.* Every Man whoſe ſhort-ſighted Soul can ſee no farther than his Eye, ought not to be

be empanneld to give in a Verdict of *Right*, of which to expect a true Judgment from him, were to exact an account beyond the Sphere of his notice. For admit, that ſome of *Nature's Courſer Wares* may lie upon the Bulk, expos'd to the tranſient view of *every Vulgar Eye*; yet theſe her *Choicer Jewels* of Right and Equity are lock'd up in her private Cabinet, for their ſight who can purchaſe them at their due rates of Sweat and Oyl. If therefore *any Mans Eye* be the competent Judge of Right, yet without peradventure *not every Mans*; certainly not thoſe of the *Croud*, who proſtrate their Aſſent to every ſhallow Appearance, and defile their Judgments with each bold Conjecture that flatters them. And indeed if every private Man had *Wit and Honeſty* ſufficient to govern himſelf and his own Actions, there would be no need of Publick *Laws* to direct, and *Magiſtrates* to guide them: But alas! moſt Mens Minds are too much out of order to have ſuch a Truſt repoſed in them, as being acted by fond and abſurd Principles, and ſo horribly impos'd upon by their Vices and Paſſions, that their Determinations are as different as their Judgments, and thoſe as their Intereſts; and they who have no reaſon in them but *their Wills*, will hear none againſt

againſt them, which would make Controverſies and Diſſentions endleſs, if the Wiſdom of Providence in a foreſight of theſe Miſchiefs to which we are thus obnoxious, had not caus'd us all to be born Subjects to ſome Empire, placing a *Prince and Prieſt* at firſt in every Family, and ſuffering none, ſince the World was better peopled, to live without the Reſtraints of an overruling Government.

But if *every Mans Eye* could be ſuppoſed to be the competent Judge of *ſome Right*, yet without peradventure not of *his own Right*, for we are prone to fawn upon our ſelves, and to be wilfully ignorant of our own failings. Our *Affections* do ſo eaſily bribe our Judgments to moſt apparent degrees of inequality, that it will be in vain to expect a *Right Sentence* where the *Judge* is a *Party*. We do ſo infinitely believe what makes for our ſelves, and ſo eaſily ſettle in a firm perſwaſion of the goodneſs of our own Cauſes without examining them, that any thing *ſeems Right* to us, if it be *our Intereſt* to have it ſo; and whatſoever we ſee through thoſe *Selfiſh Spectacles*, comes with ſuch great improvement to our Judgments, that as oft as *Reaſon* is againſt us, ſo oft are we *againſt Reaſon*. *Rectum non ex propria recti, honeſtique rationem, ſed ex uniuſ-*

uniuſcujuſque libidine definitur : Nor is there *any Crime* ſo bad but it ſeems *as right* in ſome Mens Eyes, as the *Worſhipping of an Idol* did in *Micha's*, or as *Rebellion under pretence of Religion* did to them who had *Eſpous'd the Good Old Cauſe*; and in pure tenderneſs of Conſcience to make her a *Sufficient Dowry*, Joyntred her in the Blood and Eſtates of their Lawful Sovereign and his Loyal Subjects, till their Goſpel-Reformation was in a manner compleated, and the *Godly Party came to Inherit the Fatteſt Portions of this Land.* Nor need we go back to them for an inſtance of Mens being blinded with their Paſſions and Intereſts; for *we* ſee not the *Beams in our own Eyes*, but hug our very Deformities when they bear our Names, and will hardly be perſwaded they are ſo, when we take our ſelves to be their Authors.

Nemo ſuæ mentis motus non æſtimat æquos Prov.
Quodque volunt homines, ſe bene velle putant.

Many Men, many Minds, and each ſtrongly addicted to his own. If therefore *every Man* ſhould be his *own Judge*, ſo as to take upon him to *determine his own Right*, and according to ſuch Determination to proceed in the maintenance of it, not only the Government, but the

Kingdom it ſelf would quickly come to ruine: and yet admit of the former, and you cannot exclude the latter. For *the Hand* will follow *the Eye*, and Men *do as it ſeems right to them*, be it never ſo wrong in it ſelf: ſo that if a *vicious Eye* be ſeconded with *ſtrong Hands*, and there be *No King* to pinion them, we cannot expect more Miſeries, than will infallibly invade us, nor fewer than befel the *Jews*, when *every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes*. Diſeaſes in the *Eye*, Errours in the Judgment, are dangerous; and there being not *one Reaſon in us*, there is the more need of *one Power over us*. Yet they who ſee amiſs, hurt none (they ſay) but themſelves: But how if their unquiet Opinions will not be kept at home? but prove as Thorns in their Sides, and will not ſuffer them to take any reſt, till from *Liberty of Thinking*, they come to *Liberty of Acting?* (which the moſt Judicious *Hooker* foreſaw they would do, and we have ſeen they did.) Then without queſtion, if we cannot pull Mens Eyes out of their Heads, (which were inhumane to attempt) nor beat them out of their perverſe Opinions, (which were unchriſtian) yet at leaſt it is the Publick Intereſt and the Magiſtrates Duty to *pinion their Hands*, and bind them to the Peace;

and

and the Kings Charge it muſt conſequently be, to look to *His Subjects Eyes*, as well as he can, that they ſin not blindly for want of Direction; and eſpecially to their *Arms*, that they ſin not with a high Hand for want of Correction; to look well to *Micha* in matters of Religion; to take care to pull Falſe Worſhip down, and to ſet up the Power of Godlineſs in its room. The letting looſe of that ſtring of Uniformity, which the Laws have ſcrued up to its juſt pitch, will make greater Diſcords in the Harmony both of Church and State than we can eaſily imagine.

Regis quiſque intra ſe animum habet. Every Man is apt to take more Liberty than he will allow, and to look upon the Reſtraints of Authority as an Incroachment upon his Birth-right; and therefore *doing of Right* is a ſmooth term with them who are for the moſt part *in the Wrong*; and *Liberty of Conſcience* the plauſibleſt thing in the World, even among *Men of no Conſcience at all*. But our *Wiſer Progenitors* who expected Protection, not only *for Themſelves* but *their Poſterities*, did and might as reaſonably *ingage for our Obedience* to them who ſhould protect us; nor are we therefore *born in a ſtate of abſolute Liberty*, to chuſe what Laws

and Governours we pleaſe; but *Subjects* to that Authority we now live under, which we are bound to preſerve both in Church and State with our Lives and Fortunes.

Nor is there any reaſon we ſhould be αὐτόνομοι, lawleſs, to do what we pleaſe: for we cannot fathom the depth and *deceitfulneſs of our own Hearts*, much leſs of the Hearts of other Men, which are *fruitful in evil, and every day bring forth new Inventions.* Only this we know, *Cui plus licet quam par eſt, plus velit quam licet*, We are all the worſe for that which we miſtake for Liberty, (miſtake I ſay) for to live as we pleaſe, is indeed to *loſe our Liberty*, of which the *Law* is ſo far from being *an Abridgement*, that it is the only *Firm Foundation* upon which it muſt be built, if it ſtand for ever, there being no *True Liberty* but *under ſome Law*; to which when Men fling off their Obedience, they bring themſelves under the *Devils Yoak*; nor is there any thing *more unlike Liberty* than that which they then contend for with ſo much heat and violence. A Liberty to manifeſt our folly and wickedneſs, to be *unjuſt and unholy*, to injure our Brethren and our ſelves, is but a *Licence and Protection for Villany*, which is the greateſt *Slavery* on this ſide Hell; and yet *a little more* of this

this Liberty they would fain have, who have had *too much* already, (unleſs they had uſed it better.) The Croud would fain be let looſe, to do what they pleaſe; which Freedom that they may the better obtain, they are taught (by them who know beſt how to ſet a Rebellion on foot) to pretend *Conſcience*, and an *Inward Light* for all their Aims and Actions, how dark and dangerous ſoever; which fond pretence hath in all Ages *bid defiance* to the Swords and Scepters of *Sovereign Princes*, and *Countermanded* the Laws of their Inacting; and whenever the *Rabble* had a mind to Rebel, every thing they would have introduced or alter'd in the Government was *their Conſcience*, and their fouleſt Villanies were ready to juſtifie themſelves by *Scripture Authority*. Now by *their Conſciences* (for the *Liberty* whereof this Nation hath unhappily ſpent that Blood and Treaſure which we might have kept for better purpoſes) the modeſteſt of them meant, I think, *their Judgment, and Opinion of their own Actions*; and did accordingly become *Humble Petitioners* to our *Martyr'd KING of Bleſſed Memory*, that *their Dictates* might be certain *Peculiars* exempt from the Juriſdictions of their Sovereigns Decrees.

No

No Nation under Heaven hath been more over-ſtock'd with ſuch *Libertines* than this of ours, where they have been laying the Foundation for above forty years laſt paſt, of the moſt *looſe*, *uncertain* and *pernicious* Religion in the World. When they hear the Eccho of their own Luſt and Concupiſcence ſpeaking within them, they tell their deluded Admirers, that it is the Voice of the Spirit; and being once *enlighted with ſuch Illuſions*, they bring in God to *Witneſs againſt Himſelf*, and to ſpeak by them *from Heaven* againſt what he hath declared before by his Son upon Earth; upon which Foundation what a *Babel of Confuſion* hath been erected, and what *foul Sins* have advanc'd themſelves upon theſe *ſpecious Principles*, even to the out-facing of all Authority, we have ſadly ſeen and felt too much already.

Men of *Diſtempered Minds* as well as *Craſie Bodies* being poſſeſſed with a diſcontent and diſlike of things preſent, do naturally imagine that *any thing*, the *Virtue* whereof they hear commended by their Friends, will help them, and *that moſt* which they have tryed leaſt; and therefore they liſten greedily to any *Alterations* of that Government which is uneaſie to their Humours. A *Rent* in the Church they hope may

may make up the *Breaches* in their Eſtates and Reputations, and the *Ruines* of the Kingdom *build* up their Fortunes; and therefore no wonder if they deſire to acknowledge *No King in Iſrael* but Chriſt, and *every one to do that which is right in his own Eyes*, without the controul of his Governours, who are intruſted with the *Sword of Juſtice* to repreſs thoſe Armed Diſorders which are embowel'd in that *Trojan Horſe*, which theſe *Crafty Sinons* would introduce.

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur Atridæ.

If this be admitted, *King JAMES His Prophecy* will be ſoon fulfill'd, *The Pope will be brought into* England *upon the Puritans back:* And though I am ſo *Charitable* as to hope, that they do not in the leaſt deſign it; yet I am alſo *ſo purblind* that I cannot ſee the leaſt danger of his entrance any other way, notwithſtanding the many Jealouſies of this kind with which we are daily alarm'd.

But alas, What an *Inſignificant Cypher*, what a meer *Picture of Authority* would a *King* be, if every *private Mans perſwaſion*, which he has learn'd to call his Conſcience, ſhould give *check* to the Magiſtrates Commands? And how impoſſible

poſſible is it for the King to abridge them of *Liberty of Conſcience*, the pleading for which makes ſo great a noiſe in the World? For Liberty of Conſcience rightly ſtated, is an Internal and Inviſible thing, ſeated in that part of a Man, of whoſe ſecret Operations, which are but pure Speculations, the *Civil Power* can take no Cognizance. Men may *think* of things according to their own perſwaſions, and aſſert the freedom of their Judgments in their *Intellectual Kingdoms* againſt all the Emperours in the World. Nor is ſuch a *Private Sovereignty* as this any Incroachment on the Prerogatives of Princes, becauſe *Meer Opinions* as ſuch, have no influence upon the Good or Evil of Humane Societies, which is the proper Object of Government; ſo that if the Opinion be *ſhut up and muzled*, if it dwell quietly at home, and take not the Air to moleſt and endanger others, Authority lays no reſtraint upon it. But when it ſallies out of its own *Sanctuary*, into outward Action, and *invades* the Magiſtrates Territories, till it come from Liberty of Perſwaſion to Liberty of Practice, and throws βέλη πεπυρωμένα, Eph.6.16. ſuch *Fiery Darts of Satan* among his Subjects as may inflame and wound them, 'tis both his *Duty* and *Intereſt* to have a care of the Publick Weal,

Weal, and to put a Bit in the Mouth of ſuch an head-ſtrong and unbridled Liberty as would run full ſpeed into all the Miſchiefs and Enormities imaginable. God knows the generality of Mens Conſciences are very inſufficient and *incompetent Judges* of their own Actions; and to leave them to the Government of their own *Deluſive Perſwaſions*, were in effect to *deliver them up to Satan*, to be abuſed and tormented with every Luſt, which had debauched their Underſtandings. We have ſeen of late years what a *Croſs-grain'd Thing* this *Liberty of Conſcience* is, how many *Rebels it Armed*, and how many *Drums* it beat up for Reformation, till Humour, Prejudice and Peeviſhneſs prevailed to Murder the *Beſt of Princes*. Nor can we be reaſonably ſtartled at any greater *Symptoms of the departure* of that *Happy Government* which God hath now bleſſed us with, than every Mans reſolving to be over-ruled by none but his own Perſwaſions; from the growth of which pernicious Deluſion, Good Lord deliver us. For if there were *No King in our Iſrael*, we ſhould ſoon *feel* by theſe Mens Actions what were *Right in their Eyes*, and be thorowly convinced of the Truth of *the third part of my Text*; viz.

III. *The Infallible Connexion between that Antecedent and this Conſequent*, the Loſs of a King and Licentiouſneſs. *In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael, Quid plus velit ira?* There was no full ſtop to more Miſeries yet; there is but a meer *Comma*, a ſhort breathing ſpace, and it inſtantly follows, *Every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes.* We are not yet grown ſo old in our regained Happineſs, as to have out-worn the ſenſe of our late Diſorders. Thoſe *Fatal Days* are not yet forgot, wherein the *Curſed Regicides* pull'd down *Gods Deputy* to ſet up *Devotion*, defac'd the *Churches* to introduce a *Form of Godlineſs*, and *grub'd* up the ſoundeſt and ſtraiteſt *Cedars* of it by the Roots, to plant a Grove of crooked hollow-hearted *Elders* in their room, till they came to hold the *Laws* themſelves *under Sequeſtration*, as well as the Rights and Revenues of the Crown and Church, and of all ſuch good Subjects and Chriſtians as had Courage and Conſcience enough to defend either. Indeed we can hardly name that Wickedneſs which was not then Tolerated, Countenanced, Encouraged and Applauded, when the *Sword of the Spirit* had once found a new way to the Conſcience, even *by cutting thorow the Fleſh.* From which horrible

rible *Enormities*, which a *King in Iſrael* would, and when he is Dethron'd, none elſe can, prevent and remedy, give me leave by way of Application to infer three things.

1. *The Neceſsity of Laws and Governours.* If *all* Men were *Vertuous*, every Man would be *a Law to himſelf*; but there being *very few* who can guide themſelves, and *very many* who will not be guided by others without conſtraint, there is a viſible need both of a *Directive* Power to make Laws, and of a *Coactive* to put them in Execution. The *Law without the King* is but a *Dead Letter*, He is νόμος ἔμψυχος, the Living Law; and as without Government there would be no *Communities*, but rather *Herds of Men*; ſo without ſuch *Coercive Power* of his, there could be no Government; and if the *Power* of which the King is poſſeſs'd did not ſo *vaſtly exceed* that of his Subjects who are to obey, that in caſe of a *Conteſt* it would be moſt unreaſonable for them to hope to maintain their Cauſe and Party againſt him, we ſhould never be free from Tumults and Seditions; and therefore Men being more Ruled by Hopes and Fears, than by a ſenſe of Duty and love of Goodneſs, 'tis neceſſary for the *Maintenance of Societies*, not only that it be

declared, *What Men ought to do*; but alſo that the *Penalties* be ſet forth which they ought to ſuffer upon the Violation of thoſe Laws whereupon the Society doth ſubſiſt, for which they are to be *accountable* to ſuch who by their Oaths and Offices are bound to ſee the Laws obey'd, and Offenders puniſhed: ſo that although there *be* Kings, yet except they carefully *execute their Laws*, that no Man be ſuffer'd to *do what is right in his own Eyes*, without ſuffering the Penalties impoſed by Law, Diſorder and Diſſolution will quickly follow.

The Laws ought to be of an *Unyielding and Inflexible Temper*, and not ſuch ſoft and eaſie things as to bend to their humour whom they ought to command. Nor do I know any Rule either of *Policy* or *Piety*, whereby the *Conſcience of the Superiour* is bound to relax his Laws, becauſe the *Inferiour* thinks ſo. For if *one Man* can make it neceſſary to change the Law in complyance with his Opinion, then why not *every one?* and ſo no Law ſhall be in force, but what Malefactors have a mind to, and every Man ſhall be bound to pleaſe himſelf in *doing that which is right in his own Eyes*, which is the ready way to Nurſe up Factions and Seditions to a *Grandure ſo formidable*, as to be able when they

they ſee their own time to change the Government of Church and State.

'Tis *ſometimes neceſſary* for the Publick Weal to puniſh *Well-meaning Perſons* for ſuch Offences into which they have been betrayed through their own Ignorance and Inadvertency, and by the artifice of ſome *Grand Seducers*: but it is *always neceſſary* to puniſh ſuch, who unleſs they *mean better* now than they did before, mean to *bathe* their *Tender Conſciences* in the Blood of our Gracious Sovereign and their fellow-Subjects; and therefore it is high time for them who are *in Authority*, not only to conſider the *preſent*, but to inlarge their Vigilancy for the *times to come*; to permit nothing *now*, which may *hereafter ſhake the Throne of David*, and to beſtir themſelves againſt ſuch *Anti-Monarchical*, and *Anti-Epiſcopal Spirits*, as have been *Conjured up* in this Rebellious and Diſputing Age, till they *lay* ſuch Infernal Impoſtors, and *compel* them to that Modeſty and Obedience by the Sword of Juſtice, to which all the Rhetorick and Reaſon in the World can never *court* them. And I know your *Lordſhips* underſtand your ſelves and the preſent Diſtempers of this poor diſtracted Kingdom better than to hope to remove the Diſeaſe by feeding

feeding the Humour. If the Foundations of Faith, Good Life and Government be not secured by the due execution of the Laws, we shall neither have Truth nor Peace long among us: From whence we may infer,

2. *The great Benefit of a Legitimate King and his Government*, as of that in which our Strength lies, as did *Sampsons in his Hair*; which if cut off, we should quickly betray our Weakness to the *Philistines* falling upon us. *Munimentum Gentis est Justitia*; Justice is the Fortification of a Kingdom, and Laws the *Soul of the Body Politick*, by which its parts are *animated* and set a work in such Actions as the common good requires, which taught *Plato* to derive their Pedigree from Heaven, Νόμος ἐστὶν εὕρημα μὲν καὶ δῶρον Θεῶν· And indeed the World, which would otherwise be a *Salvage Wilderness*, is by Government made a *Terrestrial Paradice*, the Type and Representation of that which is Eternal, whilst every Man *sits under his own Vine and Figtree, gathering his own Fruit*, and not reaching his Hand into anothers Vineyard. Thus are Men by the *Kings Power* made just to others and themselves; and as they may not *offer violence*, so neither need they fear to *suffer it*; they may not disturb their Brethrens Peace, nor need

need they be jealous of their own, no Man being permitted to *do that which is right in his own Eyes*, unleſs it be alſo agreeable to the Laws of God and the King; and the *Outcries* of ſuch againſt the Magiſtrates as are thus happily bound by them to their Good behaviour, are no more to be regarded by them than thoſe of Mad-men againſt their Phyſitians.

Nor do *Kings*, who are *Gods among Men*, go out of their way in managing the Affairs of *his Kingdom*. For if *none* had Power to order *Matters of Religion*, there would be nothing but *Confuſion*; *if any beſides the Supream Magiſtrate*, nothing but *Diviſion*; and therefore the *Jews* tell us, that the *Keys of the Temple* were not hung at the High Prieſts Girdle, but laid every Night under *Solomons Pillow*, as belonging to his charge. And for as much as the *King of England* holds his Crown of God *in Capite*, to Him muſt he go, not to the *Pope* for his Directions in this matter. He is to conſult *Moſes and the Prophets*, not *Him and his Cardinals*. His Sword is to be guided and reſtrained by the *Laws of Heaven*, and not controuled by thoſe of *Rome*. King *James* one would think had ſaid enough to make their *Papal Bulls pull in their Horns* with ſhame, and to teach all *Chriſtian*

ſtian Kings to take heed of being *toſs'd by them*, with whom *King-Killing* hath *paſſed the Muſter* not only of Works *acceptable to God*, but alſo of ſuch *Meritorious Ones* as may juſtly purchaſe the Crown of Martyrdom. They call the *Murder* of *Heretical Princes* an holy and honourable Exploit, by which they ſhall merit Salvation; which though St. *Paul* forbid the *Romans* to whom he wrote under *Pain of Damnation*, yet, yet does the Pope of *Rome* and his Aſſertors encourage Subjects to, as that to which they are bound under no leſs a penalty, (*Conſcientiæ vinculo arctiſſimo*, ſays *Creſwell.*) I know there are many *Loyal Perſons* of the Romiſh Perſwaſion, who do abhor thoſe *Jeſuitical Principles and Practices*; and I wiſh the *Pope* would be ſo *juſt* to himſelf and us, and ſo *kind* to them, as to call thoſe *Church-men* of his in queſtion, who have publickly abetted ſuch Treaſonable Conſpiracies, and that he would publiſh his *Pontifical Decree* to provide for the *Safety of Kings* a little better than his *Colledge of Jeſuits* have done, and to cenſure *Mariana's* and ſuch other Books as have commended *Regicides*, to the great ſcandal of Religion, and then *his Proſelytes* would have no occaſion to complain of *Perſecution* here in *England*, which the *Proteſtant Religion* doth no where teach.

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All *Eccleſiaſtical Officers* are but the *Kings Under-miniſters*, who being the *Head of all* under Chriſt, ought to have an eſpecial care of his *Body the Church*, that no turbulent Papiſts or Phanaticks may under pretence of Conſcience and Reformation, out-face and controul God's and his Authority, and raiſe ſuch Quarrels in the Church about Ceremonies, as may at laſt imbroil his Kingdom in the greateſt Diſorders and Exorbitancies imaginable. And indeed when Men are grown ſo hardy as to venture upon the Mouth of any *Cannon* which is not charg'd with *Chain-ſhot*, but with the *Brutum Fulmen* of a Flaſhy Excommunication, which doth no Execution upon their *Bodies* or *Eſtates*, it is much to be feared that they will, when they ſee their opportunity, aſſault the *Power it ſelf* that ſet them up, if they in whom the Execution of the Laws is intruſted, do not think fit to proportion their ſtrictneſs to the ſtubbornneſs of Gainſayers, but the *Rulers* permit what the *Rule* forbids to the encouragement of diſobedience. For unleſs *Juſtice* do inflict the Wrath, as well as *Conſcience* enact the Law, Impunity will breed Inſolence, and Vice grow the greater by prohibition. Yield them up this one *Flower of the Kings Crown*, and their *Incroaching Fingers* will be

reaching after another; their Malice being ſo unreaſonable, that it hath been found much eaſier to *deny them all*, than having gratified them *in part* to preſcribe them a *meaſure* And certainly one great cauſe why this Kingdom hath more *Rebels* than Murderers, more *Schiſmaticks* than *Sodomites*, more *ſtubborn Nonconformiſts* than High-way-men, is becauſe there is a more ſtrict execution of the Laws againſt the one, than againſt the other. Give *not me* therefore, but *God leave*, whoſe *Miniſter* I am here as *your Honours* are on *the Bench*, to call upon you to remember the *Church of England*, when you ſit down to Conſult and Judge, that her Sons may not forget *your Lodſhips* when they kneel down to pray; and this we beg the more earneſtly, becauſe the *unſheathing of your Swords* may happily prevent the *deſtroying Angels drawing his*. I am not tempted to ſin againſt the *Publick Character* which hath been ſo deſervedly given to *your Lordſhips*; nor do I in the leaſt ſuſpect any *active* or *paſſive Injuſtice* in you, or that you need any encouragement of mine to act according to the Dictates of your Conſciences, and the Limits of your Commiſſions; and therefore all that I have ſaid in this matter is deſign'd to juſtifie to others the Oeconomy and Equity of your conſtant

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care and proceedings in this kind, and not only the *reaſonableneſs*, but the indiſpenſible *neceſſity* which lies upon you of performing that *Great Truſt* which God and the King have repoſed in you, for the Publick Good of this Church and Kingdom.

But I know the *touchineſs* of the times in which I ſpeak to be as *admirable* as their *contempt of Authority*; and do therefore expect to be told by ſome who are conſcious to themſelves how much they have deſerved to feel the ſmart of your Cenſures in this kind; how ill it becomes a *Miniſter of the God of Peace*, whoſe Mercy is above all his Works, either *to be angry* my ſelf, or *to incenſe your Lordſhips* againſt ſuch diſſenting Brethren, who ſometimes perhaps *obey for wrath*, and ſometimes alſo *diſobey for Conſcience ſake*; and that I ſhould rather in *meekneſs inſtruct thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the Truth*, than invite others to *perſecute them*. For ſo both the *Romaniſts and Sectaries* have agreed to call the *Execution of the Penal Laws*, and to charge them upon the *Church of England*, which hath no hand in the Execution of them. I thank God, I never yet was, nor ought I to be *angry* with any Man for *not ſeeing with my Eyes*, for

not being of my Perſwaſion; nor have I ſo much heat, nor ſo little light, but that I can over-look their Miſapprehenſions with the cooleſt Indifferency imaginable, and do daily pray from the bottom of my Heart, that *God would bring into the way of Truth all ſuch as have erred and are deceived.* But when Men will ſet up *Altar againſt Altar*, and Pulpit againſt Pulpit, not only *without*, but *againſt Authority*, and make no more of *Obedience* and *Subjection* than of a *Ceremony*, (for which they ſeem to miſtake them) I cannot imagine how the Laws could be *leſs ſevere* againſt them than they are, nor how the Magiſtrate can more ſeriouſly oblige them, than by over-ruling them to that degree of Conformity which is both their Duty and Happineſs.

The *Church of Chriſt* among us, which was once undoubtedly as *ſeamleſs as his Coat*, theſe *Canting Deceivers* have now of late ſo *rent* by Schiſms, ſo *torn* by Separations, that it is become like *Joſeph's Coat*, *one piece is hardly coloured like another*; and I pray God it prove not like it in another particular alſo, that it be not once more *dyed Red*, and imbrued in Blood again. I need not tell you what the *Donatiſts* did in *Africa* againſt *Maximinian*, nor *John of Leydens* Men at *Munſter*. The *Popes of Rome*, for

for all their *Age and Holineſs*, have more than once attempted to *commit a Rape* upon the Crown and Church of *England*; and we have alſo ſmartly felt, how *hard* the Hearts and Hands of thoſe *Tender Conſciences* were, which were Nurs'd up at *Geneva*. The *Foxes* did then (as they do now) *look ſeveral ways*, but we find *our Fields* waſted, and can hardly tell, which were the greater Treſpaſſers; and God forbid that either of their *Dominions* ſhould ever be *founded* in His *MAJESTIES Grace*. I hope this Nation lies under no Diſloyal Temptations to a *Second Holy War*, becauſe we cannot yet have forgot what a *vaſt Expence* of Blood and Treaſure the *Firſt* coſt us. I doubt not but our former Experience will Diſcipline us into an abhorrency of all thoſe *Unnatural Methods* which may infer the like Cataſtrophe. It is not long ſince the *Lord turned again the Captivity of our Sion*; and are we already ſo *ſick* of our Liberty, and ſo fond to go back, as if with the male-content *Iſraelites* our Delight were in *Egypt*, and we long'd to be Dancing after the *Phrygian Muſick* of Drums and Trumpets? What is it that you *want* to compleat your Happineſs, unleſs it be to *underſtand* it better, and to be more *thankful* for it? Will not the Miracle

Miracle of the Kings and Churches Reſtauration riſe up in Judgment againſt us, if we ſo ſoon grow a weary of our Deliverance as to blaſpheme GOD and the KING, and deflower the Beauty of his Crown with *Satyrical Invectives*, and gratifie his Enemies with *Libels* againſt his Perſon and Government? The very *Heathens* themſelves had Divinity enough to pay Devotion to their Princes. *Imperatori tanquam præſenti & corporali Deo, Fidelis eſt præſtanda devotio*; and if our *Religion* do not improve our *Loyalty* beyond theirs, it is *not from above*, and we ſhall be found Rebels againſt *Heaven* as well as *Him*. For they who do not obey the King, who is a *Viſible God*, will never obey God, who is an *Inviſible King*. If therefore you deſire to approve your ſelves *good Subjects and Chriſtians*, invent not any *Evil Stories* of Him whom God hath ſet over you, falſly; *believe* them not eaſily, *report* them not diſloyally, *aggravate* them not ſpitefully, *ſcatter* them not induſtriouſly, but *apprehend* ſuch *Diſloyal Thiefs*, whom you take a Pillaging your Princes Good Name; the forward *Receiver* of any evil report, being as bad as he that brings it. And remember that *Railing againſt Kings* was a *Capital Crime* in *David's*

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Judgment, who commanded *Solomon* to put *Shimei* to death for it. 1 Kin. 2. 9

Let *all your things be done with Charity*; but let that Charity *begin at home*, and let the *Father* of your Country and your *Mother Church* taſte the firſt fruits of it. As many as are acted by calm and *peaceable Principles*, have as much *Liberty by Law* as they can deſire, and much good it may do them. For thoſe who are otherwiſe minded, it were an unpardonable Diminution of the *Wiſdom* and *Authority* of the *King* and *Parliament* to ſay they deſerv'd it. Unleſs there be five or more aſſembled together over and beſides thoſe of the ſame Houſhold where their Conventicle or Aſſembly is, the Law made *Ann.* 22 *CAROLI Secundi*, for the *Prevention and Suppreſſion of Seditious Conventicles*, takes no Cognizance of them; and yet ſtill they complain of *Want of Liberty*. Now it cannot be a *Liberty of Serving God* which they want, for he hath promiſed that *Whereſoever two or three are met together in his Name, he will be in the midſt of them*; (and the Law allows them this, and as much more:) but it muſt be a *Liberty of increaſing their Factions*, till their *Numbers* may come to give *Laws* to the Government. His *MAJESTY* hath done nothing to *impoſe*

upon

upon their Conſciences. I wiſh I could alſo as truly ſay that *they* had done nothing to *oppoſe his Authority:* for the Benefits whereof that we may bleſs God, as becomes us, and pray the more heartily for its continuance, I ſhall deſcant in the cloſe of my Diſcourſe upon,

3. *Our Happineſs under a Monarchical Government*, which hath this preſcription and advantage *above* all other forms, that it carries a more evident ſtamp of *Divine Inſtitution* than any other, and is the more likely to *avoid* or put an *end* to all *Diviſions* whatſoever. For where there are *many* Governours, there muſt needs be Differences; where there are *few*, there eaſily may be; where there is but *one*, there cannot, the intermediate Officers having their Subordination either to other, and all to him, who as God
Numb 11. ſaid to *Moſes*, hath *need of ſuch Under-Officers,*
17. *becauſe he is not able to bear the burden alone.* We have a KING *after Gods* and our *own Heart*; may his Reign be *long* and *proſperous:* He is Gods *High Steward and Miniſter*; and You, *My Lords*, are *His*, from whom you derive your Authority for the puniſhment of Evil-doers, that we may *lead a peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.* If therefore any have *done what is right in their own Eyes*, (but not

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in thoſe of the Law) I doubt not but that you will let them know, that *There is a King in Iſrael*, by bringing them to *ſuffer* what is *right in yours*; that *whoſoever will not do the Laws of our God and the King, may have Judgment executed ſpeedily upon them, whether it be to death, or to baniſhment, or to confiſcation of goods, or to impriſonment.* Which *benefit* whilſt the Country reaps by the execution of your Truſt, (who are the Kings beſt *Life-guard in times of Peace*) the very *feet of thoſe who bring tydings of your coming, will be beautiful on the Mountains*; and your *Honours* will be received with the greateſt alacrity and demonſtrations of Joy imaginable, as *Good Angels of God and the King*; to whom we are in ſuch deep Arrears of Duty and Allegiance, that we can never pay him the Intereſt of our Obligations. *Nemo Patri Patriæ parem refert gratiam, etiamſi vitam impendat:* No Man can be grateful enough to his Prince, though he ſacrifice his Life to his Service. Indeed we are *blind to our own Intereſt*, if we do not tender him as *the Apple of our Eye*; Submit both our *Perſons* and *Eſtates* to be commanded at his pleaſure; in as much as all our *private Concerns* are imbark'd in that *Publick Bottom*, whoſe Exigencies muſt be ſupplied with *Men* Ezra 7.26

and *Money* according to the *Kings Diſcretion*, who with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his great *Council* the *Parliament*, is the beſt Judge of Publick Neceſſity. As we are *all* comprehended in, ſo are we *obliged* to the good of the Nation, upon which whatſoever we beſtow returns to our ſelves, the King having no more than the ſerious care of a *Publick Guardian* to lay out our Services, and ſome part of our Eſtates for our own good, of which no Revenue remains to himſelf but care and trouble.

If Men did bear true Faith and Allegiance to God and the King, and would ſtick to the plain Principles of the *Goſpel*, and of a *Vertuous Life*, their very *Souls would be ſubject to the Higher Powers*; and *Diſobedience* would be to them, as it is to God, as hateful as the *Sin of Witchcraft*; and contempt of Authority, though in the *ſmalleſt* matters, would appear to deſerve the *greateſt* puniſhment; and they would then take better care to *ſecure their own Conſciences and the Publick Peace*, than to arraign the *Prudence of Authority*, and the *Juſtice of Laws* at the Bar of their *private Diſcretion*, by the odious Name of *Perſecution*, in ſo licentious a manner as they now generally do, and controul the *Wiſdom of their Superiours* becauſe they have

have little or none themſelves. Then would they alſo perceive how *juſt and neceſſary* it is, that ſince Men have not all *one Reaſon* in them, they ſhould at leaſt have *one Power* over them, to render ſuch Acts ineffectual by the due execution of Impartial Juſtice, which might be done by any to the diſturbance of the Community.

When there was *No King or Judge in Iſrael*, *Religion* firſt, then *all* went to rack: But God having now bleſſed us with a King and his Judges, (thanks be to him) we have no need to fear the return of ſuch Diſorders; neither *Micha* for all his *Wealth*, nor *Dan* for all his *Forces*, nor *Gibeah* for all their *Multitude*, no diſcontented Perſons or Parties of what *Faith* or *Faction* ſoever, may *do what is right in their own Eyes*, unleſs they mean to *ſuffer what is right in yours*, who are as much *bound in Conſcience* to execute the Laws, as they would make us believe they were to break them. Nor will you be the worſe beloved of *God*, or *good Men*, for preſerving an opinion of your Juſtice and Severity, but be highly *applauded* here, and *rewarded* hereafter. Hereby may you promiſe your ſelves *our bended Knees* at the Throne of Grace, for your long Lives and endleſs Happineſs.

pineſs. You will be *feared* of the Kings and your Enemies, and be *beloved* of his and your Friends: Your *Mother Church* will bleſs you, and God for you; and *your Father which is in Heaven* will beſtow upon you a Crown of Eternal Glory, ſaying, *Well done good and faithful Servants, enter into the Joy of your Maſter*, where you ſhall be *eternally bleſſed* with what we now deſire to aſcribe to the *Great Judge of Heaven and Earth*, all Honour, Power and Glory. *AMEN.*

FINIS.